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Message Text

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ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 EAE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04

H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02

SS-15 USIA-06 IO-10 SAM-01 SAJ-01 /080 W
---------- 032010
P R 290940Z SEP 75
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3638
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY SEOUL
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI
AMCONSUL HONG KONG
USLO PEKING
CINCPAC HONOLULU HAWAII

C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 13756

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, JA, CH
SUBJECT: PRC-JAPAN FONMINS' SECOND MEETING IN NEW YORK

REF: TOKYO 13663

SUMMARY: SECOND DISCUSSION BETWEEN JAPAN'S AND CHINA'S FOREIGN MINISTERS CLARIFIED BUT DID NOT RESOLVE PROFOUND DIFFERENCES IN ATTITUDE TOWARD TREATMENT OF THE HEGEMONY ISSUE. MEETING REVEALED MORE BASIC DISAGREEMENT ON FUNCTIONS OF TREATIES AND COMMUNIQUES. END SUMMARY.

1. CONTINUING DISCUSSIONS ON PEACE FRIENDSHIP TREATY (PFT) DURING SECOND DINNER MEETING IN NEW YORK SEPT 27, FONMIN MIYAZAWA AND PRC FONMIN CHIAO KUAN-HUA FOCUSSED A) ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE '72 JOINT COMMUNIQUE AND THE PROPOSED TREATY AND B) ON WHETHER FOR PURPOSES OF THE PFT A "UNIFIED" INTERPRETATION OF MEANING OF
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"HEGEMONY" SHOULD BE ACHIEVED. BASED ON TRANSCRIPT OF

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MIYAZAWA PRESS CONFERENCE, CHINA ACTING DIVDIR
HASHIMOTO PROVIDED US FOLLOWING INITIAL ANALYSIS, BUT
CAUTIONED THAT HIS REMARKS WERE TENTATIVE AND NOT BASED ON ASSESS-
MENT FROM NEW YORK.

2. HASHIMOTO EXPLAINED THAT BASIC POINT AT ISSUE WAS
ATTITUDE TOWARD FUNCTION OF COMMUNIQUES AND TREATIES THEM-
SELVES. ACCORDING TO MIYAZAWA, CHIAO APPARENTLY MAKES
LITTLE OR NO DISTINCTION BETWEEN A COMMUNIQUE AND A TREATY
AND REGARDS EACH AS HAVING EQUALLY BINDING AFFECT. AS
RESULT, CHINA IS IN NO PARTICULAR HURRY TO CONCLUDE THE
TREATY SINCE PEKING REGARDS THE '72 COMMUNIQUE AS STILL RELATIONS.
JAPAN (LED BY FONOFF'S TREATIES BUREAU) REGARDS
GOMMUNIQUES AND TREATIES AS FUNDAMENTALLY DIFFERENT
DOCUMENTS. A COMMUNIQUE IS POLITICAL DECLARATION AT A
GIVEN MOMENT WHILE A TREATY IS A BINDING DOCUMENT WITH LONG-
LASTING OBLIGATIONS AND RESPONSIBILITIES CONTRACTUALLY
UNDERTAKEN.

3. ELABORATING, HASHIMOTO SAID MIYAZAWA NOTED FURTHER
THAT JAPAN AND CHINA SHARED THE SAME ATTITUDES AT TIME
OF SIGNING JOINT COMMUNIQUE IN 1972 REGARDING BOTH ARTICLE
SIX, WHICH SPELLS OUT PRINCIPLES ON BASIS OF WHICH
JAPAN AND CHINA ESTABLISHED RELATIONS (RESPECT FOR
SOVEREIGNTY, TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, NON-AGGRESSION,
NON-INTERFERENCE, EQUALITY AND PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE).
AND ARTICLE SEVEN WHICH OPPOSES HEGEMONY. MIYAZAWA
SAID JAPAN ANTICIPATED A PFT BASED ON THE PRINCIPLES
OF ARTICLE SIX AND NEVER INTENDED TO INCLUDE THE
"POLITICAL STATEMENT" EMBODIED IN ARTICLE SEVEN IN PFT.
LATTER, ACCORDING TO MIYAZAWA, WAS INCLUDED TO
LESSEN APPREHENSION IN SE ASIA OVER CONSEQUENCES OF
PRC-JAPAN RELATIONS. CHINA OBVIOUSLY VIEWS THE MATTER
DIFFERENTLY FOR VARIETY OF REASONS AND MIYAZAWA SAID
THOSE REASONS SHOULD BE EXAMINED. HASHIMOTO STRESSED
THIS POINT AND SAID HE THOUGHT MIYAZAWA WAS SAYING
THAT HE MAY NOW BE INCLINED TO AGREE THAT
AN ANTIHEGEMONY CLAUSE MIGHT BE INCLUDED IN PFT.

4. HASHIMOTO SAID THAT MIYAZAWA TOOK TO NEW YORK
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PROPOSAL WHEREBY TOKYO AND PEKING WOULD
ISSUE SEPARATE PROTOCOLS AT THE TIME OF SIGNING OF PFT,
SPELLING OUT EACH CAPITAL'S INTERPRETATION OF
"ANTIHEGEMONY." PROTOCOLS WOULD SERVE DOMESTIC POLITICAL
(AND SOVIET) AUDIENCES' BUT WOULD HAVE NO EFFECT ON
BI-LATERAL RELATIONS. CHIAO KUAN-HUA APPARENTLY
FIRMLY OBJECTED TO EACH SIDE'S OFFERING ITS OWN INTER-
PRETATION AND INSISTED THAT A "UNIFIED" INTERPRETATION

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WAS ESSENTIAL. HASHIMOTO'S PERSONAL READING OF MIYAZAWA'S REMARKS IS THAT THE FONMIN MAY HAVE ABANDONED HIS APPROACH TO RESOLVING THE HEGEMONY ISSUE THROUGH SEPARATE PROTOCOLS.

5. FINALLY, HASHIMOTO CONFIRMED THAT MIYAZAWA TOLD JOURNALISTS THAT EITHER A VISIT BY CHIAO TO JAPAN OR BY MIYAZAWA TO CHINA WAS OUT OF QUESTION UNTIL UNDERSTANDING ACHIEVED ON THE TREATY ISSUE. MIYAZAWA LEFT BALL IN CHINESE COURT, DECLARING HIS BELIEF THAT IT WOULD TAKE THE CHINESE SEVERAL WEEKS TO EXAMINE THE CHIAO-MIYAZAWA EXCHANGES AND DECIDE WHAT RESPONSE, IF ANY, TO MAKE.

6. COMMENT: WE WILL ASSESS THE DISCUSSIONS AFTER THE JAPANESE PARTICIPANTS RETURN TO TOKYO, BUT TENTATIVELY IT APPEARS THAT RATHER THAN HAVING BRIDGED THE GAP BETWEEN JAPAN AND CHINA ON THE TREATY, THE TALKS, INSTEAD, CLARIFIED DEPTH OF THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TOKYO AND PEKING ON THE HEGEMONEY AND TREATY ISSUES.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: HEGEMONY, FOREIGN RELATIONS, AGREEMENTS, MINISTERIAL MEETINGS, COMMUNIQUES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 29 SEP 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: ElyME
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975TOKYO13756
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750336-0911
From: TOKYO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t1975097/aaaaagbb.tel
Line Count: 137
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 75 TOKYO 13663
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: ElyME
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 17 JUN 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <17 JUN 2003 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <24 OCT 2003 by ElyME>
Review Markings:

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Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PRC-JAPAN FONMINS' SECOND MEETING IN NEW YORK
TAGS: PFOR, JA, CH, (MIYAZAWA, KIICHI), (CHIAO KUAN-HUA)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006